

WORLD AFFAIRS

Genscher takes in his stride the role of fair weather maker

Hans-Dietrich Genscher takes in his stride the roles and pawns of being the untiring fair weather maker between Bonn and Washington.

The unpleasant side does not distract him from his diplomatic objective of ensuring that fine weather prevails in German-American relations.

A year ago, when the Reagan administration in its halcyon early days first took the Europeans aback with strident talk of an arms build-up, Herr Genscher in Washington concentrated on a joint arms control policy.

NATO now has a concept and a timetable for arms control talks with the Soviet Union, although the prospects of success may be uncertain. Other problems now take priority.

On his latest visit to Washington Herr Genscher could hardly have been in any doubt that martial law in Poland and the obdurate *machtpolitik* pursued by Moscow had alarmingly highlighted the lack of a joint Western strategy for dealing with the Soviet Union.

Differences in analysis and response to developments in the East Bloc by Bonn and Washington have resulted in individual conflicts, such as the clash over the pipelines-for-natural gas contract, imposing a strain on German-American relations.

Views held about each other on either side of the Atlantic are jeopardised by dangerous judgements and prejudices.

US conservatives are responding to peace movements and neutralist noises in Western Europe with growing nationalism and unilateralism.

Herr Genscher mainly visited Wash-



ington to prepare with the US government for two key events, the Western economic summit in Paris and the NATO summit in Bonn, both of which are scheduled for early June.

The West will be as naked as on the day that it was born if the two conferences end inconclusively.

In Paris the economic summit is unlikely to have much difficulty in agreeing yet again to stem the tide of protectionism in any form.

But how are the industrialised countries to cope with mass unemployment, to contain the consequences of US interest rate policies and to assess how President Reagan's deficit budget will fare in Congress?

There are few signs so far of a joint approach taking shape.

In preparing for the NATO summit Herr Genscher is working on two basic assumptions, the first being that the quality of ties between Bonn and Washington will largely determine the

tener of ties between the United States and Western Europe.

Second, if joint Western strategies are to be framed, the political dimension of the North Atlantic pact must be more strongly emphasised.

This idea is by no means undisputed, neither in Germany nor in America. Some members of the Reagan administration are worried that if NATO were saddled with too many political decisions the United States could be tied down.

So Herr Genscher put forward in Washington plans for concerted action. Concepts include solos, but for the score he recommended a kind of conference favoured by the European Community: informal gatherings of NATO Foreign Ministers, without ritual declarations and mountains of paperwork.

Herr Genscher swears by the productivity of a framework of this kind, but even Mr Haig was only moderately interested in the idea.

The US Secretary of State was his main point of contact in Washington. He and Mr Haig agree to an extent he invariably emphasises as a good example of German-American relations.

Continuing differences of opinion with other members of the US administration are played down.

Defence Secretary Weinberger, like Mr Haig, did not say the pipeline-for-natural gas contract was no longer a problem as far as he was concerned.

Even so, Herr Genscher feels he now put behind him the worst part of the hard work of convincing members of the US administration in Washington.

Ha was surprised, as most of many German visitors to Washington are, how wildly exaggerated the view are that Congress in particular seems to be on how dependent Europe has to be on Soviet energy supplies and how substantial German trade with East Bloc is.

He left Mr Haig in no doubt as to his reservations about US policy in Central America but claims to be absolutely sure there will be no US military intervention there.

One of the more salient results of his visit to Washington may turn out to have been President Reagan's decision to allow, to visit Berlin, as well as Bonn.

Nothing but benefit can be seen from Mr Reagan seeing for himself the reality of Germany divided by the Berlin Wall.

The only drawback will be that the route will probably need to be changed in advance to ensure that protest demonstrations cause no mishaps.

Ulrich Schille
(Die Zeit, 12 March 1982)

HOME AFFAIRS

Environmentalists top 5 per cent as SPD slides in local elections

The Environmentalists (Greens) captured 5.5 per cent of the total vote and 27 council seats in the Schleswig-Holstein local elections this month. The Christian Democrats topped the poll with 50.1 per cent, a slight rise over last time. The Social Democrats' share of the poll fell by almost 6 per cent to 34.6 per cent and the Free Democrats lost a fraction, to 4.8 per cent. The turnout was down more than 4 per cent.

The decline of the Social Democrats' vote continues. The trend has been confirmed by the Schleswig-Holstein local elections, the first of this year's round of elections.

The SPD slide is gathering momentum to the point where it could be stripped of political power in most municipalities, almost all *Länder* and possibly in Bonn.

How far the Schleswig-Holstein elections can be taken as a national indicator is debatable. Even so, the SPD defeat is more than a regional event.

The fact that the Social Democrats lost 6 per cent (one-sixth of their voters) should be grounds enough for depression.

After all, it was always the cities and municipalities in general where the par-

ty had its roots. And if these roots wither (like in Lower Saxony and Berlin last year) the Social Democrats will lose some of their lifeblood and their ability to govern.

Of course, the SPD was not helped by the scandal over Neue Heimat, the trade-union-owned building company and the affair over party contributions.

The SPD prospects were further reduced by unemployment and economic uncertainty.

But the SPD in Germany's most northern state cannot excuse its poor performance by pointing to the desolate picture presented by the Bonn coalition.

That SPD chapter in particular has repeatedly demonstrated that it does not identify itself with the Bonn government.

The left-radical course did not pay off — neither with voters concerned with the environment (for otherwise the environmentalists would not have made such gains) nor with those who back the Social-Liberal coalition, many of whom abstained.

How can the SPD check its decline? How can it stop itself from tumbling from one defeat to another this year?

It cannot make the electorate vote for

it by creating problems that confuse or upset the voter.

Yet exactly this is happening. The headline-making weekend meetings of the Social Democrats convey the impressions of a party headed back towards its own difficult past.

The impression is that of a party that is not out to fight to overcome acute problems and stay in power but a party seeking a better life in a "state of the future".

The question that comes to mind is whether Eppler, Lafontaine and the other leaders of the opposition within the party are acting out of idealism.

Or are they perhaps not out to get the best possible starting positions for the big cleanup that is bound to come once the party has lost its power in Bonn?

Whatever the motives of the opponents of the Chancellor and his policy, they have a greater effect on the picture presented by the SPD today than the government and the SPD MPs in the Bundestag.

Eppler & Co. reject the double NATO decision on arms and negotiations and head the opposition against the economic and energy policy drafted in a coalition compromise.

They thus provide the electorate with an alternative Social Democratic programme, clearly shouldering co-responsibility for the future of the SPD.

But this alternative SPD is unlikely to meet with much favour. The voters will not reward a disunited party — particularly not when this faction is out to harm the Chancellor, who is still considerably more popular than his party.

The rise in inflation has been checked. It is down to less than 6 per cent. The balance of payments deficit is dwindling, which means that conditions for an economic upswing are improving.

But above all, Bonn has had some foreign policy successes: German-French relations have become more relaxed and Western Europe still orients itself by Schmidt's Poland policy of moderation; and the Geneva disarmament talks that he helped initiate still hold some promise of success.

Despite friction within the coalition and despite the squabbles within FDP, the policy of the Bonn government is still a credit to the SPD; and constantly complaining party members can only do harm.

They should take the outcome of the Schleswig-Holstein elections as a shot across the bow — the last warning before this year's state elections.

Should the Social Democrats lose all four of these elections, the party-political balance of power in this country would become unhinged for an extended period.

Dieter Buhl
(Die Zeit, 12 March 1982)

Time for a spell of East-West reflection

Governments in Eastern Europe are not, for the most part, supported by majority opinion in their countries, as has most recently been demonstrated by Poland.

No convinced democrat in the West could possibly condone giving East Bloc rulers *carte blanche* for oppression of the public on grounds of *realpolitik*.

This is where a dilemma faces the Western-orientated Helsinki review conference participants.

The East Bloc has emerged as a major trading partner and a market the West is most reluctant to forfeit in view of sales problems in the free markets.

On the other hand we would be betraying our convictions if we were to accept as a price of our own well-being the slavery of our neighbours.

The internment camps set up in Poland after the imposition of martial law simply had to be raised at the Madrid conference table.

Arguments marshalled by bankers and sales executives no longer count when peaceful development and human dignity are at stake.

Conversely, the countries of Eastern Europe are well aware that they will never be able to close the industrial and economic gap without technological cooperation with the West.

They are as much on the verge of collapse as many developing countries. Moscow and Warsaw now have eight months in which to bring about a state of affairs that will enable all-European talks to be resumed.

During this time the West must also come to a conclusion on whether there are alternatives to a policy of détente.

One department of negotiations ought not to be affected by ideological considerations is arms control. Nuclear devices make no distinction between communist and anti-communists.

The Soviet Union, like past US administrations, has always drawn a line between disarmament negotiations and other political issues.

It was President Reagan who obliged to link the arms race with war in Poland. But the US government seems to be returning to the path of freedom.

Defence Secretary Weinberger's speech in the National Press Club in Washington has said that negotiations with Moscow on strategic armaments could begin in the next few months if the Soviet Union were so inclined.

There are growing indications that the United States has proposed a first round of talks to start in June.

That would mean the talks between the superpowers on intercontinental and intermediate-range missiles in Europe, related topics if even there we any, could finally be run parallel to each other.

Pierre Simonot
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 10 March 1982)

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Scandals, party wranglings, bring out the cynicism

ger of confusing and blinding our basic democratic system with our present situation.

There is no indication as to how the established political parties are to rid themselves of the illusion that they themselves are the state and that this gives them the right to engage in intrigue, graft and manipulation of the electorate.

There is, however, one instrument with which to prove that there is only one sovereign in a democracy: the people who express their political will in the form of a ballot.

Why do our politicians in the confused situation not call on the electorate to make a decision by vote? Why not hold a new Bundestag election?

There are those who will object by pointing to the fact that we already have four elections forthcoming this

The centrifugal forces that distinguish the FDP

FDP leader Hans-Dietrich Genscher never tires of stressing the "distinctiveness" of his party.

However, it is not quite a true claim. The almost unanswerable question is what the criteria is.

If anything is distinctive about the Free Democrats it is the centrifugal forces within the party that drive it apart.

This was clearly demonstrated at the latest congress in Duisburg of the party's young members' branch which called on Genscher to review his position of "openness to all sides".

The political infighting in the party

year (the state elections in Lower Saxony, Hamburg, Hesse and Bavaria).

But there is also the fact that SPD and FDP are not only at loggerheads with each other but that they no longer stand united behind their Chancellor.

It was pure hypocrisy aimed at holding on to power that prompted the two parties to back Chancellor Schmidt in a unanimous vote of confidence.

What the electorate thinks of the coalition is disregarded in such manoeuvres. A meaningful vote of confidence cannot be cast in parliament alone; it must come from the people.

And, finally, there is the argument that the fathers of the Constitution wanted to prevent Weimar conditions by making the dissolution of parliament rather difficult.

The idea was to enable a once elected Bundestag to act and to keep coalitions, once formed, functioning for four years. This is how it should be — in principle.

Even so, Willy Brandt chose a different course in 1972. He not only had to end the stalemate in the Bundestag, but also wanted the electorate to voice its view on his *Spolpolitik*.

The premise for new elections how would not be so clear-cut; but such an election could nevertheless provide mere clarity. In addition, it would act as an indicator of the strength of democracy in this country.

But who wants clarity? The coalition and the Chancellor keep saying that they will stick it out until 1984. The Opposition, on the other hand, waits for the Bonn coalition to break up of its own accord.

Both attitudes lack conviction. Another argument that could be raised against an early general election is that the Bonn opposition under its

interim chancellorship candidate Helmut Kohl has not exactly earned itself laurels, thus presenting itself as the better alternative.

Polls show that the Germans still favour Helmut Schmidt over Helmut Kohl even though they are disenchanted with the SPD/FDP coalition.

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Fritz Aschke
(Süddeutsche Nachrichten, 10 March 1982)

Repairing bridges

Continued from page 1

based on the argument that Bonn would grow too dependent on the Soviet Union as an energy supplier, this being an argument Bonn promptly tries to disprove with figures.

The basic American argument is that the natural gas contract will relieve the pressure on the Soviet Union exerted by economic problems of its own.

The European counter-argument is that the Soviet Union must be allowed to develop its energy resources and, to some extent, to market them.

This at least directed the Soviet leaders' attention to domestic development. If no opportunity of Western assistance were open to the Soviet Union, Moscow would devote itself much more strongly than hitherto to the struggle for power and influence in the commodity-rich countries in general and the petroleum-exporting nations in particular.

That, the argument runs, would heighten the aggressive attitude taken by Moscow and make the international political situation even more explosive.

Washington and Bonn agree on one point at least, that new and critical processes lie ahead in the 80s that will need to be jointly dealt with.

This, as in decades past, is what is at stake on both sides of the Atlantic. Differences of behaviour will be permissible, but only providing they are reciprocally understood.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 14 March 1982)

■ MIGRANTS

Land premiers work out blueprint for slowing influx to a trickle

Land Premiers have agreed to limit refugee quotas and to call for legislation to make it harder to qualify for political asylum, to reduce (from 18) the maximum age at which children may join their (foreign) parents in Germany and to stall beyond 1986 on proposed freedom to live and work in Germany of Turkish nationals as citizens of a Common Market country. Incentives are also to be offered to foreign residents, especially those out of work, to return to their native countries.

Hostility towards foreigners is growing in Germany. Yet most people don't want to remember that in the late 1960s, when German industry was starved of labour, the one millionth Turkish worker was presented with a TV set.

There are some two million foreign workers here. Including families there are 4.5 million Turks, Spaniards, Greeks, Portuguese and others.

It is generally agreed now that Germany has reached or exceeded its capacity to absorb foreigners.

Ways are being sought to stop the influx, and where appropriate to encourage repatriation.

Politicians are worried by the growing public xenophobia and the diminishing willingness to integrate.

Highly regarded opinion researchers say that the mood has changed radically over the past few years.

At the end of 1978 39 per cent of Germans wanted foreigners to return home. By December 1981, this figure had risen to 66 per cent.

Every second German now says that even foreign children who were born in this country should be denied a permanent residence permit — compared with 27 per cent three years ago.

Only 11 per cent of Germans now favour integration help for foreigners compared with 42 per cent in 1978.

These figures reflect irrational fears which rightist groups such as *Bürgerinitiative Ausländerstop* (citizens' initiative to stop the foreigners) are only too happy to exploit.

This xenophobia is partly due to an undercurrent of fear of diluting national identity; but there is also the concern over being displaced from jobs in a time of economic crisis.

Proposals would mean end of a proud political principle

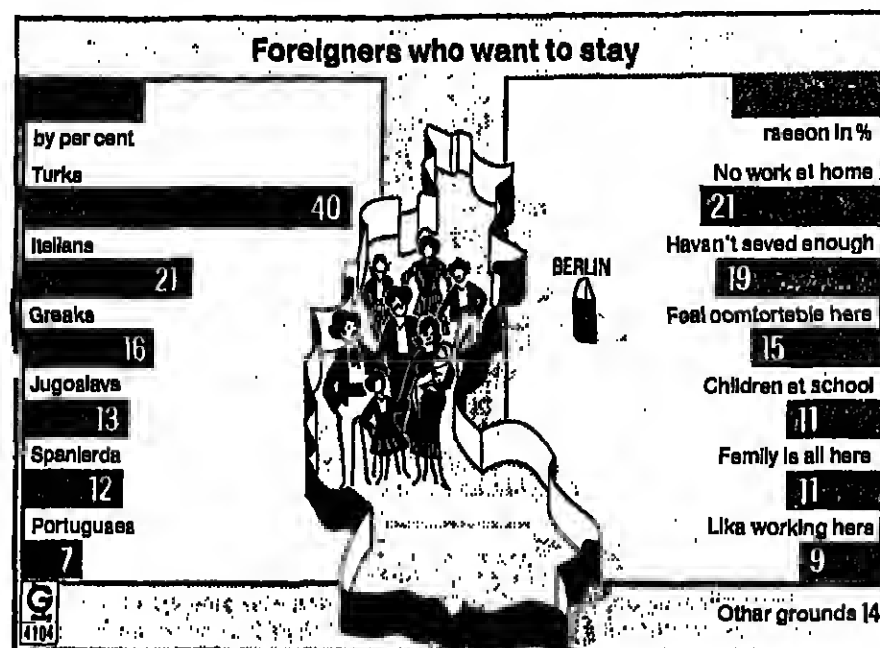
The intended stiff measures to curb the influx of foreigners are a two-edged sword.

They will mitigate the social and financial problems posed by the current 4.6 million aliens in this country.

But they would also mean restricting a political principle that was once a reason for pride: open borders for all who need them.

If we were not to accept only those Vietnam refugees who are picked out of the sea, we must ask ourselves what is to become of others whose fate is the ordinary one of not having a roof over their heads.

And if foreign workers are to be allowed to bring in their families only after a strict sifting process, we would deprive people whose labour we need of the right to lead a normal family life.



national identity; but there is also the concern over being displaced from jobs in a time of economic crisis.

The fact that this has little to do with actual realities has little effect on the mood. Sociologists are certain that the public's attitude towards foreigners has long become ingrained.

These are boom days for those who like to oversimplify things. For example, there are those who suggestively ask if, without foreigners, would we not have less crime; less acute housing shortage; and full employment?

Unfortunately, this sort of sloganeering meets with a frighteningly strong public response.

German state prime ministers of all parties agree that Germany has exceeded its capacity to absorb foreigners.

The disquieting thing, the prime ministers say, is not the financial burden but the growing hostility to foreigners.

This could one day erupt and threaten social peace.

The premiers all say they cannot allow the situation to continue.

The constitutional guarantee of the right to asylum for political refugees cannot be met if absorption capacity is strained.

The conditions used to justify such measures are an old chestnut: Bonn and the *Länder* simply don't have enough money to accommodate the legions of asylum seekers and refugees in general.

The concentration of foreign workers in certain regions has created ghettos whose inhabitants lead a life of their own and are becoming an irritation to the German public.

Aliens now account for seven per cent of the total population in this country.

France, Belgium and Switzerland have considerably higher proportions.

Are we perhaps less prepared to accept economic drawbacks on behalf of the foreigners whom we ourselves brought to this country to further our economy?

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 6 March 1982)

Three-quarters of Germans actually say foreigners are the cause of many German problems.

Chancellor Helmut Schmidt found himself reminded of the time when "we blamed everything that bothered us on the Jews."

It is well worth pondering. Many of the lessons dating back to the darkest era of our history are fading in the memory.

The undeniable abuse of the right to asylum in this country has convinced three out of four citizens that all asylum seekers are simply trying to improve their economic position.

Fifty six per cent of Germans want

Threat to social peace main concern of ministers

Those political asylum seekers who in fact are seeking economic improvement stand in the way of the genuine asylum seeker.

And many legal experts no longer interpret the relevant article of the Constitution as meaning that a haven must be provided for all comers.

Germany brought the guest workers to Germany and cannot simply send them back.

But they did not come to this country to be charitable to us and we didn't expect them to be joined by the entire clan.

To prevent demagogues from using the vast number of foreigners in this country for propaganda, a restrictive aliens policy must be pursued.

Contrary to generalisations, xenophobia is not a deep-rooted characteristic of the Germans. Instead, Germans initially tend to admire everything exotic.

Those who in the mass media constantly show overcrowded foreigners' quarters, dirty back yards and filthy lavatories tell more about the mentality of certain newsmen than about the attitude of Germans towards aliens. As a rule, this attitude is not unfriendly.

The aliens problem is essentially a problem of Turks. Everybody senses this.

more stringent yardsticks for political refugees.

Most even say that people who genuinely politically persecuted at home should still be rejected.

This is a shining testimony to the country from which, close to 50 years ago, tens of thousands were forced to flee and seek shelter in neighbouring countries.

Genuine guest workers, who live at the expense of Germans but taxes and help finance social security and health insurance, are lumped together with those who seek asylum in the country for economic reasons and usually drive welfare.

Relations between Germans and foreigners are marked by misunderstandings and misconceptions.

For instance, 70 per cent of Germans believe that guest workers won't stay here permanently.

Yet the foreigners' ties to their cultures are so strong even after a ten-year stay in Germany that 75 per cent are determined to return home.

Only 6.6 per cent want to become German citizens. Equally uninformed is the widespread view that the repatriation would cut unemployment here.

Foreign workers from European Community countries are hereby given and most of those from non-EEC countries have long-term residence permits.

But even if this were not so, as foreigners all went home, most of the difficult jobs would be nothing but a burden to Germans.

If highly skilled industrial and technical workers were to be asked to take some of the jobs now filled by foreigners they would be outraged.

Trying to cope with this hostility towards foreigners means an all-out information campaign.

Joachim Haid
(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 3 March)

The first agreement in this year's wage round, 4.2 per cent in iron and steel, is lower than it was last year and took less time to reach.

Given the economic outlook, the deal seems to be an encouraging sign.

Both unions and employers seem keen to follow in North Rhine-Westphalia's footsteps and agree to identical terms elsewhere.

So relief has been widespread and the example set at the first key round of wage talks, held this year in Krefeld in the Ruhr, could catch on.

Iron and steel employers energetically resisted until the last moment a wage increase of more than three per cent, just as last year they sought to avoid conceding five and the year before seven per cent.

Last year's increase was 4.9 per cent, plus flat-rate payments that took the percentage to well over five.

This year the employers planned to offer no more than 3.9 per cent, or so it seems, which was ambitious indeed: wage increases one per cent lower with inflation running at roughly six per cent in both 1981 and 1982.

But as negotiations came to a head it was clear that less than four per cent would have meant industrial action.

The unions might have had difficulty in persuading public opinion that strikes were worthwhile for the last few tenths of a per cent, but the strike threat had to be taken seriously.

So by offering 4.2 per cent and a flat-rate bonus of DM120 for February the employers have averted labour disputes and possibly more.

They have avoided putting their new-found determination to the test. Last year, iron and steel employers in North Rhine-Westphalia took a hard line and

■ THE WAGE ROUND

Ruhr steelworkers set the pace with 4.2 per cent

were let down by their counterparts in Baden-Württemberg.

Employers down south were better off and could afford to agree to terms employers in the Rhine and Ruhr regions had turned down flat.

The employers were on bad terms with each other for a while, then resolved to close ranks and not break them come what might.

Maybe they would have done, but who can say for sure what would have happened if arbitration in North Rhine-Westphalia had failed?

Agreement might again have been reached on costlier terms in another part of the country, so the employers may have agreed to 4.2 per cent in Krefeld to be on the safe side.

It is even harder to say what effect the Neue Heimat affair may have had on the wage negotiations. It was certainly a blow to the prestige of the trade union movement.

But IG Metall, the 2.7m-strong metalworkers' union, will not have been so hard hit that it was determined at all costs to avoid industrial action.

The employers were well advised not even to attempt to capitalise on this possible weakness of their opposite number at the wage talks.

Once trade unions forfeit prestige among employees they are correspondingly less useful as parties to collective bargaining. So a decline in the confi-

dence in which they are held is not in the employers' interest either.

The employers are sure to have been happy to allow IG Metall a reasonable wage increase, an increase the union could "sell" to its members.

This is not to say that the union negotiators gained all their demands, not even if the initial union claim of 7.5 per cent is dismissed as the usual exaggerated demand.

IG Metall was keen indeed to negotiate terms that would at least have offset nominal inflation, and inflation is sure to be more than 4.2 per cent.

A figure that both sides should be able to live with

The wage agreement in the North Rhine-Westphalian iron and steel industry may not rule out disputes in other parts of the country.

But it is a feather in the caps of arbitrators Werner Figgen and Hans Wertz, mayor of Hamm and administrative board chairman of the Bundesbahn respectively.

Arbitration using independent men on whom both sides agree has been shown to be an integral, working part of collective bargaining.

So there is no reason to sneer at arbitration as some unionists do who evidently prefer industrial action to peaceful agreement.

Let them think again. In the difficult years that lie ahead strike talk, playing on hopes that cannot possibly be fulfilled, will get the unions nowhere.

Both the union and the employers' negotiators likewise deserve credit for having aimed at swift agreement after last year's protracted wage talks, in which agreement was not reached until early in May.

The employers did not insist on less than four per cent. They chose to be realistic, appreciating that anything else would have prompted a wave of strikes despite the economic outlook.

And the state of the economy is by no means good. There is mass unemployment and a record number of companies are having to call in the receiver and to go into liquidation.

But there are still companies that are

This is a certainty even if one allows for the flat-rate bonus for February bringing the percentage up in the lower wage group and for inflation easing up as the year goes on.

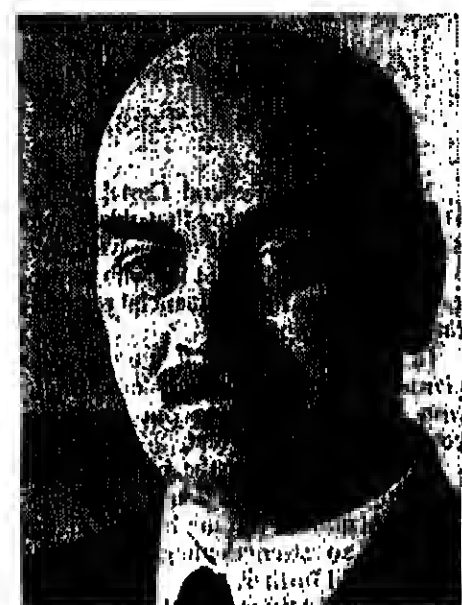
The February bonus is fine for the lower wage groups but it only increases their percentage improvement for that one month.

There have been demands for a minimum flat-rate increase to apply for the duration of the agreement, but they made no headway.

The iron and steel terms are, as always, a pointer for the economy as a whole. They will allow public service workers to settle for a little less in return for their job security.

So for two years in succession wage increases have been lower than inflation, meaning that the money in their

Continued on page 7



Hans Wertz... feather in his cap.

In a sound position, especially in export-oriented iron and steel, and they would have been first to face strike action.

Experience has shown that even after weeks of bargaining the outcome of wage talks could well have been no better for either side than the terms agreed in Krefeld.

So the employers should be in a position to persuade doubters in their ranks that a wage offer of 4.2 rather than 3.9 per cent was a small price to pay for social peace and a swift end to uncertainty.

IG Metall, the union, can live with 4.2 per cent too. The latest statistics indicate that inflation could well be below five per cent by the end of the year.

And wage- and salary-earners have arguably grown accustomed to wage rate increases lower than the official inflation rate.

The flat-rate bonus of DM120 for February is an acceptable solution to demands for a better deal for the lower wage groups, demands made especially in Baden-Württemberg.

A similar solution to this problem was arrived at last year too, so IG Metall unionists in Baden-Württemberg can hardly object on principle.

So it is now up to the parties to collective bargaining in the public service to make their contribution to a change for the better in wage bargaining in the 80s.

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 8 March 1982)

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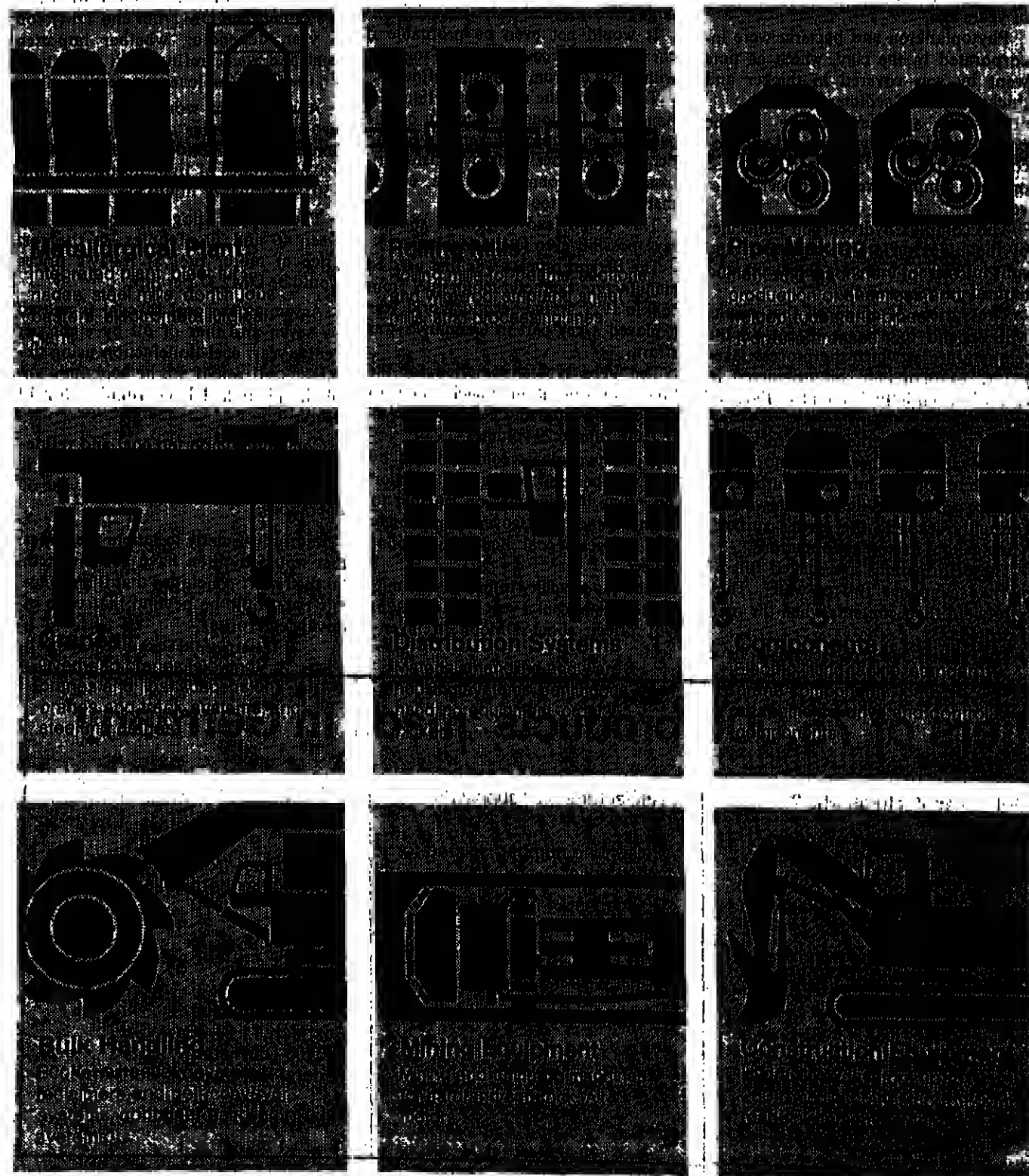
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Werner Figgen... and in his, too. (Photos: Sven Simon)

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THE ARTS

A triumphant tribute to the golden age of Spanish painting

En route from Madrid to Vienna the magnificent Greco to Goya exhibition has stopped over in Munich, where it will be on show in the Haus der Kunst until the end of April.

It is the first time such a triumphant tribute to the golden age of Spanish painting has been paid outside Spain. The list of works on loan is a marvel in itself.

More than 100 paintings are listed in the informative but, in the quality of its colour reproductions, at times less than superb catalogue.

Hardly any are second-rate. Still fewer are fillers.

There are eight works by El Greco, including major work from Madrid and Toledo, and 10 paintings by Velazquez, including Infante Don Fernando as a Huntsman, the two Vienna paintings of the Infanta and the Portraits of Don Sebastian de Morra.

There are nine paintings by Zurbarán, seven by Ribera, 12 (in a room of their own) by Murillo and 13 of Goya's best, including The Colossus, or Panic, and a major self-portrait.

Then there are many other first-rate works by artists never before exhibited in Germany.

The Munich exhibition is a unique, virtually never-to-be-repeated festival of painting arranged in happy cooperation between the Haus der Kunst and the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlung.

It is due even more to the under-

lent 12 masterpieces testifying to the international standing of its Spanish section.

The result is an exhibition for which there has been felt to be a need for nearly 20 years: a representative show of Spanish painting over four centuries.

Chronological order is only loosely kept to and the presentation makes do without flourish. The paintings are simply hung on walls and partitions to convey an impressive overall impression.

It provides only samples, with the result that historic proportions are sometimes a little askew; there are no still-lives by J. S. Cota, for instance.

But the selection does justice to the special position and special achievements of Spanish painting as an independent force, the extreme opposites of expression, especially in the portrait.

They show the tension between ideal and reality, between ecstatic religiosity and a blunt and even brutal awareness of reality, between courtly ceremony and distinctive individualism.

They likewise show the tension between an aristocratic air and heated emotion, between pathos and touching human love of truth.

Such contradictions, as these still seem strange to a Central Europe. They seem Spanish, as the Germans say, and at times altogether exotic.

They are definitely not accounted for satisfactorily by a reference to the 'Manneristic, baroque, intellectual outlook or

A number of baroque topics are almost entirely missing in Spanish art, and even the proverbial Spanish realism is firmly embedded in a pious, religious outlook. No attention is paid to the profane, to nature in its animal nudity or its heroic landscaping; none to the mythology of the Ancient World. The legitimate subjects for portrayal on canvas are belief and man in God's image, the saints and the anointed. We are nonetheless captivated by Spanish painting: by the psychologically profound humanity wrung from a strict canon, by the artistically sublimated beauty and vitality and by the sense of reality that comes through all propaganda of the faith and piety.

It is a sense that comes through, the devotion of monks gazing heavenward and even through the cuteness of Murillo's idyllic beggars and small boys. In a characteristic manner the immaterial, clerico-intellectual life corresponds to the earthy, brown faces and tattered life of tramps and hawkers.

The golden-hued, dramatically illuminated production of the contrasts between heaven and earth are exactly attuned to the Janus-headed narrative world of a Caravaggio.

Stylistically, Spanish painting remains contradictory and lacking in uniformity until Goya. Classical, mannerist and baroque tendencies long clash, as do Italian and, later, Flemish influences.

In differing degrees of intensity the dramatic, drastic, black-and-white painting of Caravaggio reigns supreme in Spanish schools of art from Madrid to Valencia, although one tends to forget this fact in view of their superb portrayals of humanity.

El Greco's flickering expressionism is a blend of Byzantine icon painting, his Cretan origins and a Venetian glow of colour.

His ecstatically elongated portrayals of suffering, as in The Disrobing, are entirely devoted to a glowing zig-zag of gestures, folds and sheet-lightning.

His initially glaring colour symbolism is expressed more cursorily in the red-and-green contrast of John the Baptist. Biblical events are transfigured, become a spiritual vision of light in his Madrid Coronation of the Virgin Mary.

Yet we are also shown, in the stern portrait of a doctor, that El Greco was the first great painter of the human individual.

A key part in the emergence of a Spanish style of painting was played by the Caravaggio follower Francisco Ribera, whose Christ Appearing to St. Peter forms part of the exhibition, and José de Ribera, a pupil of his who worked in Naples.

Ribera's gloomy Maddalena Ventura portrays almost in cold blood the ah-



El Greco's St. John (1600)

monial of a man-like, bearded woman and her baby, and behind them the embittered face of her hard-hit husband.

His later Mary Magdalene opts for monumental composition combined with sensual Flemish pleasure in colour.

In Seville, a metropolitan city, a still life school takes shape. Its earliest representatives are clearly seen to retain allegorical references to the fleeting nature of life on earth. Francisco Herrera, the elder's blind Organist boasts an almost Dutch realism that is as far removed from the nycage as Francisco Zurbarán's ecstatic saints are typical of it.

But we are much more fascinated by Zurbarán's expressive portraits, such as St. Casilda, and his magnificent still-lives.

Seldom can the magic isolation of light-transfiguring objects, the pastel aura of material have been painted more suggestively and more enigmatically than in his two versions of the Bodogon with four vessels.

From 1650 Zurbarán's influence declines, while that of Murillo gains ground. Rubens and Rembrandt were the painters on whom Murillo, the master of poetically softened painting, modelled his work.

It stands for a bourgeois piety that was soon to decline into the kitsch of objects of devotion.

Diego Velazquez, a portrait painter in Madrid from 1623, took the art of painting human portraits to its height.

The discoveries of the Munich exhibition are less the major works than the paintings by lesser-known artists such as Palacios and Melendes, Cano and Carand de Miranda, Claudio Coello and Maino del Mazo, Pereda, Rizi and Valdes Leal.

It took Goya to end the decline of Spanish painting in the 18th century. He combined a variety of trends, developing from a courtly rococo painter to the greatest social critic of his age and an artist who in some works seems poised to enter the 20th century.

Goya's critical reason and surreal vision, his inexorable observation of mankind and artistic sensuality lead time and again to outbursts of lathal passion.

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Goya's The Perseus (1781)

standing shown by the Spanish authorities and to cooperation between the three leading collections of Spanish art in Europe.

They are the Prado in Madrid and the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, the custodians of the Habsburg treasure and the Alte Pinakothek in Munich.

The Munich gallery looks after what the 19th century was the most important collection of Spanish art outside Spain, the collection built up by the royal family and extended by gifts and by donors from the bank world.

Any German and foreign museums wanted works, especially the Museum of Creative Arts, which

to an allegedly typically Spanish attitude.

For centuries Spain was on the outskirts of Europe, which partly explains for a degree of separate development.

It set itself the mission of the Counter-Reformation. It was keen to defend the Catholic Church in a changing world and to spread its message in a popular way.

But there was enormous tension between strict spiritual pretensions and the often sad reality of 18th century Spanish society.

In the range of subjects chosen, if in no other respect, patronage by the court and the Church to the exclusion of a self-assured bourgeoisie had a detrimental effect.

MEDICINE

Flu vaccinations: today's knockout punch becomes tomorrow's wet sponge



Vaccinations against influenza are only effective for a limited period because the viruses keep changing. This is why many people get flu despite inoculations.

What researchers have to do is predict how viruses will change and modify the serum accordingly.

Delegates to a congress at Cologne University heard that scientists would probably come up with the answer within five or ten years.

Professor Stephan Fazekas de St. Groth, of the Basel Institute for Immunology, demonstrated how the virus changes, caused by a single protein molecule, occur.

He used the example of a glove, representing the body's antibodies, and a hand, the virus.

In the first year, the immunised body fits the attacking glove perfectly.

But a year later, the virus has developed a longer finger. The glove no longer fits and the result is flu.

It can also happen that the finger shortens again, so the immunised defence mechanism is able to work once more.

But this mutation game comes in

many variations and continues over the years. No one yet knows how or why.

Serums consist of dead viruses against which man can develop antibodies without actually becoming ill.

To make them effective long-term prior knowledge or educated guesswork about virus changes essential.

The World Health Organisation has been working on guessing ahead.

John Skehel, director of the WHO Anti-Flu Centre, told the congress that the only thing that can be done against flu is still to inoculate — even though there can be no guarantee of success.

A phenomenon: it appears that after 12 years flu viruses lose their ability to change.

Instead, statistics show that entirely new sub-species of flu emerge somewhere in the world.

No one is immune, so epidemics break out. The whole cycle of research and immunisation begins again.

The last of the big epidemics caused by a new virus was Hong Kong flu, which came from Asia in 1968 and swept through Europe.

Another new virus is expected to break out at any time.

However, Hong Kong flu was not a brand new virus; it had caused an epidemic 70 years before but did not strike again because people developed immunity.

But 70 years later, it was able to come

out of the woodwork with devastating effect, because anyone with immunity also happened to be dead.

Something similar happened in 1957 when an 1889 virus made a comeback.

It originated in Russia, where the name grippé, meaning cold, entered the vocabulary.

But scientists say that these two examples are exceptions rather than the rule: the 12-year emergence of new sub-species is more common.

Many questions remain unanswered:

- Why the 12-year cycle?

- Why does only one virus at a time hit the world?

- What happens to the varieties that lie dormant for so long?

- Why do the viruses have such sophisticated mutation mechanisms?

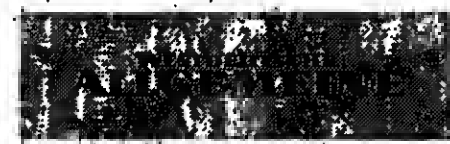
- Why does the flu hit only in the cold season, or at least in the tropics?

Today's anti-flu inoculations are based on economic considerations (costs vaccine versus absenteeism due to illness) rather than a drive to eradicate the last of the major epidemic diseases.

Even though flu causes epidemics, would be wrong to describe it as one of the great scourges. Fatalities are rare.

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Tests reveal grandpa manages to keep it up for years



Men remain potent until they are very old, according to a Max Planck Society study.

It also reveals that the sexual capacity of healthy older men is "unexpectedly high" in comparison with younger men.

The survey investigated 23 grandfathers aged between 60 and 89 and 20 fathers aged between 24 and 33.

It was carried out by the Clinical Re-

search Group for Reproductive Medicine at the Münster University Hospital. The Research Group is part of the Max Planck Society.

The study contradicts medical theory that, similar to the menopause in women, men begin a biological change in life between 40 and 60, when they become impotent.

According to the study, a "pill for men" would have to be taken throughout life.

But the research team's Professor Eberhard Nieschlag points out: "The problem is that there is no such thing as a drug without side effects."

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 4 March 1982)

SOCIETY

The nation gets round to counting heads again

The Christmas tale as told by St. Luke begins with a census. It was the reason why Joseph and Mary were turning to their place of birth.

The idea is the same. The 27 April 1983 census in the Federal Republic of Germany will merely be more sophisticated.

Nowadays all levels of administration seem to have statistical units and departments of their own that ceaselessly compile and publish data.

Yet there remains an astonishing degree of uncertainty about true figures.

Kroppenstedt, head of the Federal Statistics Office in Wiesbaden, has no doubts about the country's population.

It is estimated to be 61.5 million, but the actual number is a million and nearly all statisticians feel a

new census is urgently needed. Ernst Albrecht, Prime Minister of Lower Saxony, is virtually alone in feeling that in the computer age a census is no longer as important as it used to be.

Even computers can only make projections based on past figures, which is all the current population estimate is, and they can often be proved to have been woefully inaccurate.

The last census, in 1970, showed there to have been 860,000 fewer people living in the country than had been assumed for the previous nine years.

The reasons for such wastage are often quite straightforward and cannot be ruled out by computerisation. Many people forget to notify the authorities when they move home or to register a death.

So the census, for which a date has finally been set after long arguments over who is to foot the bill, is long overdue.

It is overdue by international standards. According to the Wiesbaden statisticians the Federal Republic of Germany is the only leading industrialised country not to have held a census since 1970.

It is universally agreed that they must be held once every 10 years, otherwise statistics become too inaccurate. The desire for accuracy is not just a weakness of bureaucrats.

About 100 laws are based on population statistics. If the figures are wrong, the law is in serious jeopardy and runs a grave risk of being unfairly administered.

The exact population of local govern-

ments leaves 116,000 single parents in Germany. They never married in the first place.

The number of fathers who run a family single-handedly has increased sharply, nearly doubling in nine years from 85,000 in 1972 to 141,000 last year.

Most, 103,000, looked after only one child, but 28,000 cared for two and 10,000 for three or more.

And mothers who run families on their own are on the increase too. Between 1972 and 1981 their number increased from 518,000 to 764,000.

Again most, 497,000, had only one child. But 196,000 looked after two and 100,000 after three or more children.

(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 2 March 1982)

Continued from page 14

mentally with older and already infirm people.

They live in slums and ghettos on the outskirts of town and manage to survive doing odd jobs of one kind or another and they still suffer from discrimination.

There are 20,000 to 30,000 members of a Romany people who have lived in Germany for centuries and 60,000 Romanies who hail from Eastern Europe.

The conditions in which they live are so bad that in recent years they have begun to emigrate as a protest movement.

Well over half a million gypsies were killed by the Nazis. Many survived the holocaust only at physical and mental cost.

Many gypsies are particularly critical of

the attitude of authorities who refuse to acknowledge that gypsies were persecuted on racial grounds in the Third Reich.

The official argument in such cases is that until 1943 Romanies were sent to concentration camps solely as potential lawbreakers.

At the end of the war, Herr Rose says, Romanies were liberated more by coincidence than by design. No-one campaigned on their behalf in the way that others campaigned for their Jewish fellow-sufferers.

The Romanies would in any case have had difficulty in stating their case in writing. They are Indo-Aryans and speak a language akin to Sanskrit, but unlike Hebrew, the language of the Jews, it is not a written language.

Herr Rose says xenophobia is on the increase in Germany. Romanies are systematically made out to be criminals: loitering with intent and living as tramps and vagabonds.

In reality they would prefer a roof over their heads and a regular job, just like anyone else, especially as their traditional jobs are no longer in demand.

For centuries German gypsies have worked as tinkers, violin-makers and horse-trainers. There is no longer a market for their services.

But they have gained in self-confidence as they challenge longstanding prejudice. Their German association was set up in Heidelberg about 30 years ago and represents them on international Romany bodies.

The International Romany Union consists of 22 organisations from as many countries, and new groupings have been set up all over Germany in recent years. There are now a dozen in the Federal Republic.

(Bremer Nachrichten, 26 February 1982)

A small town in Germany: the top contenders

The smallest locality in the Federal Republic of Germany has a population of 114. It is the hamlet of Keppenhagen in the Rhineland-Palatinate.

Next comes the village of Elfenstein in the Palatinate with a population of eight. All are women.

Gröde is a little of the North Sea coast of Schleswig-Holstein. Eleven people live there, well-known for their traditional wooden houses on stilts.

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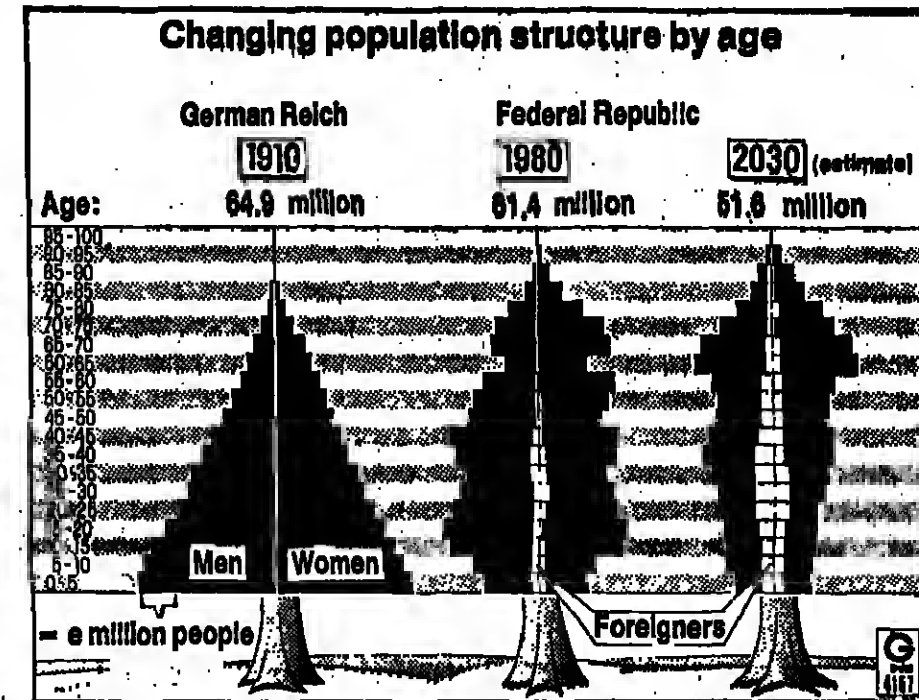
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many areas has to be decided because it decides the scale on the basis of which funds are allocated, including the tax share-out between the Federal and state governments.

The number and size of Bundestag and state assembly constituencies also depends on the number of people who live in a given area.

The census also compiles details of sex, age, marital status, nationality and so on, all of which are important for comparison.

These figures are needed to estimate population trends such as how many old-age pensioners there will be at a given date, or how many children will start school or school-leavers go on to serve apprenticeships.

Forecasters of this kind are indispensable for planning pension schemes, education or labour administration. You can't run schools without some idea of prospective intake.

So the census, if only for a limited period, will even create extra jobs.

Rudolf Grosskopf
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 9 March 1982)

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